DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 117 027 SO 008 869

AUTHOR Breza, Kathleen; And Others
TITLE The Polish-American Community in South Bend.
INSTITUTION Indiana Univ., South Bend. Ethnic Heritage Studies Program.
PUB DATE Jun 75
NOTE 27p.; For related documents, see SO 008 867 and 868

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS *Cultural Awareness; Cultural Background; *Cultural Pluralism; Ethnic Groups; *Ethnic Studies; Higher Education; Minority Groups; *Polish Americans; Research Projects; Secondary Education
IDENTIFIERS *Indiana (South Bend)

ABSTRACT

Developed as part of an ethnic heritage studies program, this document provides an historical narrative of Polish Americans in South Bend, Indiana. The document presents background information, beginning with the dating of Polish national existence in 966 when King Mieszko converted to Christianity. Emigrating to America for economic reasons, many Poles began arriving in Indiana around 1850 through 1860. Their subsequent life and cultural development in South Bend is presented. The Polish community retained strong roots and identity to their Polish heritage into the 1960s when a decline in identity ensued. Recent emphasis is on cultural pluralism. (JR)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED117027

THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

IN SOUTH BEND

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Kathleen Breza
Martha Pieszak
Researchers

Karen Rasmussen
Editor

SP 008 869

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES PROGRAM
Indiana University at South Bend

Dr. Richmond Calvin, Project Director
Dr. Karen Rasmussen, Associate Director
Donna M. Gollnick, Curriculum Director

June, 1975

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Ethnic Heritage Studies staff at IUSB wishes to thank both the researchers who assembled the information for these pamphlets and the persons whose interviews and conversations provided the information which has made the pamphlets possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. 1

POLISH BACKGROUND 1

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SOUTH BEND. 4

POLISH BACKGROUND

Poles date their national existence from 966, when King Mieszko converted to Christianity. Ever since then, they feel, Poland's history has been dominated by two hostile forces, by German attempts to expand eastward and Russian attempts to expand toward the west. Geography has made things easy for both foes because the land of the Vistula River basin is flat. It might have been designed for marching troops across, as Poland's enemies discovered long ago.

Poland is sometimes described as the country with portable frontiers. At times powerful kings have extended their control as far east as the Ukraine. On the other hand late in the eighteenth century Poland disappeared from the map, to reappear only in 1919. After the second World War its boundaries changed again.

During the sixteenth century political power within the Kingdom shifted from the king to a sort of parliament known as the Sejm. The Sejm elected Poland's king but this king had no power. The Sejm actually governed the country, but that became increasingly difficult because of a parliamentary device called the liberum veto. There had to be unanimous agreement on every piece of legislation, and a solitary no vote could invalidate all the actions taken during that session of the Sejm. When sessions were disrupted in this manner legislative factions organized confederations and went to war with one another. There ceased to be any effective administration of the country. The one exception to this happened in 1683, when King John III Sobieski led the combined Polish and German army which defeated the Turks outside Vienna. For the most part, however, Poland became the pawn of more effectively governed states, which competed to have their candidates elected King and their policies endorsed by the Sejm.

In the eighteenth century the most pressure

came from Russia. Succession crises were settled by Russian troops. Catherine II decided with Frederick II of Prussia that Poland should be partitioned to assure the maintenence of peace. The first partition occurred in 1772, when Russia, Prussia and Austria each assumed responsibility for administering parts of the country. In response Polish nationalists undertook a series of reforms which culminated in the Constitution of May 3, 1791. Within a year burgeoning national pride prompted Thaddeus Kosciuszko to organize a revolt against partition. In response there was a second partition in 1793. This triggered a national uprising, but was finally quelled by Russia. The third and final partition, in 1795, divided what remained of Poland, eliminating both the King and the Sejm. A few years later Napoleon created the Duchy of Warsaw, but most Polish land continued to be held by Germany, Austria, and Russia. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna transformed this duchy into the Kingdom of Poland, with the Russian Emperor as king. As might have been expected, this "Congress" Poland continued to be administered as if it were a partitioned area.

Poland remained a feudal state much longer than did the countries of Western Europe. Slavery was abolished fairly early, but Polish peasants never became shareholders. As recently as the nineteenth century Poland had no middle class to speak of. Society consisted of a wealthy and independent land of aristocracy. The Sejm governed less autocratically than earlier Kings had done, but power and privileges remained exclusively with the upper class oligarchy. Peasants were entitled only to work the land and pay taxes.

There was little social mobility in Poland. Nobles could receive a university degree, but peasant education remained the responsibility of the village school and ended there. Some areas had no schools. Even when there were schools a child might not be able to attend regularly because he or she would be needed at home to work on the farm. After

the partitions Prussia and Russia provided elementary schools which taught in either German or Russian. The upper class had access to excellent secondary schools. For a university education these students might attend the University of Cracow, or they might be sent to universities in Germany or France.

Poles first came to America with the Jamestown settlement. These were glassblowers whose skills were utilized in the country's first factory, a glassmaking enterprise. During the American Revolution, some Poles came over to fight on the side of the colonists. Two of the most famous were Casimer Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

For a long time after the American Revolution, relatively few Poles immigrated to America. Those who did come here either quickly assimilated as individuals or banded together as small enclaves of workingmen. Persons who participated in the unsuccessful Polish revolutions of the 1790's generally preferred to remain in exile in France. One exception was a group of exiles which came to America when Andrew Jackson was President. They bought some land in Illinois and tried to form a Polish colony. It failed, but many of the former members moved to Chicago and became the nucleus of the Polish settlement there.

Polish emigration to America in significant amounts started in the 1850's and 1860's. It picked up in the 1880's and 1890's, when American factories were demanding great numbers of workers. Immigration essentially stopped with World War I. After the war people still came but in far fewer numbers, because of the Immigration Acts and the literacy test and quota system which they imposed.

There were reasons why the Poles decided to emigrate and reasons why they chose to come to America. Their overwhelming reason for leaving home was economic. The peasants were poor. They worked the land year after year and paid taxes, and they had nothing else to look forward to. They did not even own their own farms, but rented the land they

worked. Other reasons for emigration were tied to the political actions of the three partitioners.

The Russian Emperor was King of Poland. He also still held partitioned land. He was supposed to obey the Polish constitution of 1815, which permitted some local autonomy, but a series of rebellions between 1830 and 1863 scared him into a policy of Russification. Each revolt intensified the policy. Russian became the language of administration and the administering was done from Petersburg. There was not even a pretense of following the Polish constitution. School classes were conducted in Polish, while the Polish language and Polish history were banned from the classroom. All Polish universities were closed. Poles were conscripted into the Russian army.

German rule was almost as oppressive as Russian rule. Schools taught in German. There was mass conscription. Austrian rule may have been easier to bear. The Austrian Emperor ruled people of many nationalities. His government had no reason to single one of them out for harassment, but treated most of them more or less alike. Conscription fell equally among the nationalities. One nationality did not provide all the troops for the army.

THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN SOUTH BEND

Poles began to arrive in Indiana during the late 1850's and early 1860's. In Northern Indiana their initial settlement centered around the town of Otis. The first Poles who came worked for the Lake Shore and Michigan Central Railroad, which was laying track between Chicago and New York. From Otis, Poles moved into the neighboring towns of LaPorte, Rolling Prairie, Terre Coupe, New Carlisle, Crumstown and Michigan City. In this period South Bend was a small place with few industries to attract immigrant labor. The first Pole in town, said to have been Anthony Szybowicz, did not arrive

until 1868. Other early immigrants were John Likier, Michael Drol, N. Pijanowski, Andrew Rajter, and John Wozniak. Most of these men came from German Poland, especially from the cities of Poznan, Kcynia and Szubin. Some found jobs at new local factories, others worked for the railroad, and a few bought farms outside the city.

Some states, including Illinois, established recruiting stations in Poland and elsewhere, but Indiana did not. These stations would advertise via leaflets and brochures for people to come to their state to find good jobs. A company which wanted more workers available in Indiana, however, was obliged to make its own contacts overseas. Or, it might recruit in the major east coast ports, New York or Baltimore, where most immigrants landed. The Oliver Plow Works may have sent its own agents to Poland in search of laborers, although there seems to be no solid evidence to validate the story. Poles who came to South Bend around the turn of the century, whose descendants were available for interviews, did not come because they had been recruited. They came because they already had friends or family in South Bend who invited and encouraged them to come. Nevertheless, some came because they had heard that this or that plant was hiring. At times South Bend's major factories would even go to the depot and recruit people off the trains as they came into town.

The greatest numbers of Poles came to South Bend between 1880 and the beginning of World War I. After the turn of the century, many immigrants came from the Russian held section of Poland and from Galicia, or Austrian Poland. The period after 1880 was a time of rapid industrialization, when factories were expanding and needed great numbers of inexpensive workers. As South Bend grew its chief sources of employment became the Oliver Plow Works, the Singer Sewing Machine Company, and the Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company. Other firms included the Birdsell Manufacturing Company,

South Bend Watch and South Bend Toy. Polish immigrants had come from an agrarian land with few industries and few educational opportunities. They were mostly hired as unskilled labor.

The immigrants soon found that although wages were much higher here than in Poland, America was a far more expensive country in which to live. The dream of returning to Poland with enough money to buy a farm came true for only a few. Some immigrants decided that they would rather stay here, while others were never able to accumulate enough money to leave. In Poland women had always worked around their families' farms but had never held outside jobs. Here, in order to make ends meet, many were obliged to work for wages. In South Bend they were employed by the various cigar factories, at the laundries and as hotel maids. Their major employer was the Wilson Brothers Shirt Factory.

Once an immigrant had found a job, he or she needed housing. Most of them first found a family to board with. But the goal was to own one's own home. The Oliver Plow Works encouraged home ownership by providing houses for its workers to rent at first and purchase later. A family would save enough money for a down payment on a house, and then take in boarders to help pay for the rest. Sometimes they would then plant a garden to keep in touch with the land. As they moved to South Bend, these Poles tended to settle together. The city's west side became a Polish community. To those who lived there, the neighborhood was also known as Polonia.

At first South Bend's Poles attended St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church. In 1877, however, the first local Polish church was built. There had been hositlity between the Poles and the Irish, both at work and at church. To the Irish, the Poles seemed quite alien. They spoke an odd language, they followed different church customs, and they came from a wholly different culture. The first Polish church, called St. Joseph's, was de-

stroyed by a wind storm in 1879. Two years later construction began on a new church, St. Hedwig's. Father Valentine Czyzewski served as its first priest.

He had immigrated to America in 1869, after the seminary which he had been attending was closed by the Russian government. He settled in Otis and became an American citizen. A priest persuaded him to complete his seminary training. In 1873 he entered the Congregation of the Holy Cross at Notre Dame, and he was ordained in 1876. One year later Father Czyzewski became pastor of St. Hedwig's. He did not confine his attention to one church, however, but traveled to other Polish settlements. He officiated at services in Bremen, Gerardat, Rolling Prairie, LaPorte, Winamac, Otis, Terre Coupe, Chesterton and Kendallville. Later he traveled to still other Polish communities: Bronson, Michigan; Pana, Illinois; and Egge, Indiana.

Father Czyzewski helped to organize the other three Polish churches in South Bend. St. Casimir's was organized in 1898 for the people who lived south of the Grand Trunk and New York Central Railroad tracks. These parishioners would otherwise have had to travel a long way and cross the tracks in order to attend St. Hedwig's. In 1900 St. Stanislaus was founded in 1900 for the Polish families who lived in the northwest section of the city. And in 1910 St. Adalbert's was organized for those who lived in the southwestern section of town, on the edge of the Kankakee marsh.

South Bend's Poles managed to maintain four Roman Catholic Churches staffed by Polish priests. They accomplished this despite efforts by the Church to discourage the formation of ethnic parishes. These local churches retained many of the old Polish church customs and in them sermons were given in Polish, although mass was always said in Latin. Despite this apparent cohesion, however, around 1900 some of these churches began to have internal problems. At St. Hedwig's the pastor refused to let the members of the Polish Falcons

to wear their uniforms into church. The Falcons had to stand outside the church doors.

St. Adalbert's, the youngest church, received Father Kubacki as its first priest. He was not well received by his congregation, which regarded him as an outsider. They mistrusted him because he had attended the Polish seminary at Orchard Lake, not Holy Cross at Notre Dame. He also did not get along well with his bishop. In 1920 the Rt. Rev. Herman J. Alerding, Bishop of Fort Wayne, accused Father Kubacki of not sending the proceeds of a special collection for orphans to Fort Wayne. The priest replied that Bishop Alerding, who was German, would have sent the money to Germany, and so he himself had sent the money to Poland instead for Polish orphans. Furthermore said Father Kubacki, these Polish children had been orphaned by German aggression. Bishop Alerding threatened to have the priest defrocked for insubordination. Father Kubacki then went into retirement.

Reverend John W. Osadnik was St. Adalbert's second pastor. He served the congregation from 1920 until 1940. In 1927 he was made a Monseignor, the first priest in South Bend to be so honored. Under him the parish built a much larger church. Monseignor Osadnik became widely known for his work in the parish and with the Polish community. Poland's government granted him two awards for his patriotic activities, the cross symbolizing Polonia Restitua in 1934, and the Golden Cross of Merit in 1939.

The worst trouble among South Bend's Polish Catholics occurred at St. Casimir's. The bishop designated a new priest for the church. But the people of the parish accused Bishop Alerding of having ignored their wishes in the matter. When their new pastor tried to enter his church, the congregation refused to admit him. After the priest had tried several times to enter the church, the police were called. While they maintained order the priest was installed as pastor. A small group of dissatisfied parishioners broke away from St. Casimir's and began to attend the Hungarian church

of the Sacred Heart, whose priest was Father Sychta. Later these dissidents formed St. Mary's of the Holy Rosary Polish National Catholic Church.

Most Roman Catholics consider the Polish National Catholic Church to be no better than Protestant. There was such bitterness within the local Polish community over this schism that while St. Mary's was being built the men of the parish had to guard the church at night to prevent it from being torn down. Only recently has this church been admitted to the Polish Central Committee. St. Mary's was not invited to participate in the celebration of Poland's millenium. Such pressures made it psychologically difficult to belong to St. Mary's, and after some years a number of parishioners left. These people did not rejoin St. Casimir's, however, but went instead to St. Adalbert's.

The one stable community church during this period was St. Stanislaus'. It had no serious problems. Perhaps this was because the majority of St. Stanislaus' parishioners had come from one area in Poland--Poznan.

Not long after the appearance of South Bend's first Polish communities their residents formed ethnic societies and organizations. They served several purposes--fraternal, political, social and religious. The earliest societies provided death benefits and help for widows and orphans. Two Fraternal and Mutual Aid societies were founded in 1874, named for St. Stanislaus and the other for St. Casimir. In 1884 the Kosciuszko Building and Loan Association appeared. In 1893 the Sobieski Federal Savings and Loan Association, which still exists, was organized. Gerald R. Gadacz is its current President and Leonard S. Nowinski is Chairman of the Board of Directors.

Three nationwide Polish organizations have established branches in South Bend--the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish National Alliance, and the Polish Falcons.

The Polish Roman Catholic Union was first or-

ganized in Chicago as a fraternal organization. In 1904 a local chapter, the Society of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, No. 234, Polish Roman Catholic Union, was established at St. Stanislaus. Ten years later the women of St. Hedwig's became society No. 850 of the Union. The Union exists to work for Catholicism and for Poland. It also provides death benefits for its members.

The Polish Falcons were first organized in South Bend in 1894 as the M. Romanowski Falcons, Nest No. 4. The local Falcons provided gymnastic classes and organized basketball and baseball teams. They attended athletic competitions with other Falcons. They presented plays, held dances and organized a choir. Like most other ethnic associations, the Falcons also offered an insurance program. In 1897, after a misunderstanding a second South Bend chapter, the Zygmunt Balicki Falcons No. 1, Nest No. 80, appeared. In 1911 a third chapter, the Falcons of King Jagiello, was organized at St. Stanislaus, but this unit soon lapsed. From 1901 to 1905 the M. Romanowski Falcons of South Bend served as the Falcon's national headquarters, with George W. J. Kalczynski as national president. Both the M. R. and Z. B. Falcons established nests of Falconettes. Both clubs also have halls which are used for club activities or rented to other local groups.

The Polish National Alliance was formed in 1887 to help Poland gain her independence. Most of the aid given was financial. The Alliance also wanted to promote Polish heritage. It sponsored youth programs and children's summer camps to teach young people about their Polish heritage and culture. In 1932 it began a Polish scouting program, but this was dropped after the Boy Scouts of America protested such duplication of its program. The Alliance also sponsored glee clubs and athletic teams. It too offered an insurance program. Many other Polish-American organizations are locally active. One of the city's major political organizations is the West Side Democratic Club, where even

now membership is limited to those of Polish descent. Local Polish churches sponsor a variety of organizations. Many men belong to Holy Name societies and women to sodalities and to Rosary societies. The American Relief Committee for Free Poland, Inc. brings small Polish song and dance ensembles to South Bend every year. For the last thirty-five years the Chopin Fine Arts Club has also brought Polish performers into town. The Club exists to promote Polish art, music and literature.

The South Bend Tribune estimated in the 1930's that there were at least ninety Polish organizations and societies in South Bend. Many of these are still active. All major local organizations belong to the Central Polish American Organization. Also known as Centrala, this is the local umbrella organization. The Polish American Congress, to which Centrala belongs, serves the same purpose on a national level.

Politics has frequently offered the immigrant a way to a better life. Through political activity and success a man might be able to rise socially within his community. The ethnic community itself also benefited, because it could call upon its politicians to do things beneficial for itself.

The list of local Polish-American office holders dates back nearly a century. In 1878 Thomas Pijanowski ran for constable in Portage Township and lost. The next year in South Bend Charles Valentine Korpal became Deputy Street Commissioner. In 1880 Nicodemus T. Tanski was elected Justice of the Peace. Tanski became the first Polish Democratic leader, but he soon left politics for private business. Charles Korpal then became the leading Democratic leader within the Polish community. He was also one of South Bend's first Polish policemen. The Polish community also included Republicans. They organized their first club in 1880, with Ignatius Boinski as president.

The Poles shared South Bend's Third Ward with

the Irish. In 1881 Peter Makielski was elected Councilman from the Third Ward. From that time, until 1890 the Ward always had one Polish councilman and one Irish councilman. In 1890, when the city's ward boundaries were changed, the Sixth Ward became an all Polish district. From then on there were two Polish councilmen.

After 1880 Polish political clubs, Republican and Democratic, were organized for every election campaign. Whether the Polish community voted Democratic or Republican depended on which club was better organized in any given year. Each party regularly accused the other of coercing workers to vote a certain way by threatening them with the loss of their jobs. Before the turn of the century there was a big local scandal when it became known that both parties had been allowing Poles to vote who had only taken out their first papers for citizenship. Although this was technically legal in some states, including Indiana, it was a practice that was not well received when someone was discovered encouraging it.

In the years before World War I the Polish vote in South Bend became strongly Democratic. This can be attributed to several things. One of the major reasons is that the Republican party made some statements which were understood to be anti-immigrant in tone. By contrast, the Democratic party seemed to welcome the immigrant, it worked to provide them with jobs and remained in contact with the local Polish community. It was thought of as the party of the poor.

For years the West Side Democratic Club has been the leading Polish political club in South Bend. It was organized by Stanley Muszynski and Joe Moskwinski to provide a united political effort within the Polish community. In spite of this strong Democratic influence, however, there has been a local Polish Republican club ever since 1880, known as the Republican Central Committee.

Although South Bend is home for a great number of Poles, who have a strong Democratic organization,

the city has never had a Polish mayor. Fred Bilinski, a former City Clerk, ran for mayor in the late 1920's and lost. In 1963 Eugene Pajakowski lost in the primaries. Poles always run for mayor in the primaries but are never slated by the Democratic party. There are Poles in other elected positions, however. Aloysius Kromkowski is St. Joseph County Tax Assessor. Walter Szymkowiak is Councilman from the Second District and Walter Kopczynski is Councilman from the Sixth District. The County Coroner is Stanley Koscielski. Peter Beczkiewicz was Portage County Trustee, County Treasurer, and a State Senator. In part, at least, the failure of the city to have a Polish mayor has been due to the factions and divisions within the Polish community.

The Poles settled together on South Bend's west side. Here the community was effectively divided into four areas, corresponding to the neighborhoods around each of the four churches. Each church had its own nickname, and the neighborhood surrounding the church was known by that nickname too. St. Hedwig's Church was called Bogdarka, the gift of God. St. Casimir's was Warszawa (Warsaw) and St. Adalbert's was Krakowo (Cracow). St. Stanislaus' was known as Poznan and also as Zlote Gory (Golden Hills), because the golden wheat on the farms nearby reminded people of the land around Poznan. Many of the families who lived near and attended a particular church had all come from the same part of Poland. If a man began to make more money and could afford a better home, he usually felt obliged to find a house in the area around his church which had become his neighborhood.

To an extent these geographic subdivisions have disappeared, but a person who moves out of the west side may still attend his old church there. Many of the other local Polish organizations now go their own ways, as some churches did early in the century. The M. Romanowski Falcons and the Zygmunt Balicki Falcons may work to present a united

Falcon front to the rest of South Bend, but actually the two groups tend to live and work separately.

Even with these factions and divisions, however, the community was undeniably Polish and tended to remain isolated from the rest of South Bend. All the businesses needed for daily life could be found on the west side, run by Poles. Eventually Polonia even acquired its own doctors and lawyers to go with its churches and businesses.

The first Polish businesses on the west side offered food and drink. Groceries, meat markets, bakeries and taverns appeared. Early grocery stores included Korpal Grocery, Kochanowski Grocery and Kuberski's Food Market, which is still in existence. Today there are several groceries with Polish owners, but they make no effort to stock Polish foods. Recently the Hojnacki Sausage Shop closed. It was the last in the city to make its own Kielbasa (Polish sausage). Earlier meat markets were the Woodka Brothers' Meat Market and Przybysz Meat Market. At one time there were several bakeries, including the Krakow Bakery. The only two in existence today are Flavorite Bake Shop and Progressive Bakery. There are no Polish restaurants open anymore, but some Polish food is served at taverns like the Kazbar Tavern, Pejza's Tavern, John Leszcz Tavern, and Al's Anchor Inn. Kaminski-Mooren, Inc. is a produce company. Sylvester Kaminski's father started the business by selling vegetables from a pushcart.

There were several clothing stores within Polonia. The Poznan Department Store was a Polish merchants corporation founded by Ignacy Niespodziany and John Bierwagen. Father Marciniak of St. Stanislaus' helped them by explaining how a corporation was organized. There were also the Krakow Department Store, Korpal's Clothing Store, and Kitkowski Clothing Store. The Kuberski Department Store is still in existence. Another important business is Gene's Dry Goods Store. This does not sell clothing, but it is one of two local stores affiliated with the PEKAO Trading Corporation, which is the

organization through which people can send packages, merchandise and money to Poland. The city's other affiliate is the Huron Drug Store.

South Bend's early cigar factories were run by Poles. The three major companies were Hazinski Cigar, Niezgodski Cigar and Bilinski Cigar. Poles remained in small businesses; they did not start large factories. The Bierwagen Brothers ran a tool and machine shop. There was the Smoger Lumber Yard. There were three furniture stores, all out of business now: The Kaniewski Furniture Store, Fiwek Furniture and J. P. Rozplochowski & Co. Even today Poles do not run large businesses. Some of their undertakings include Michiana Machine and Stanley Enterprises, run by Stanley Kromkowski. There are also a number of Polish owned auto repair shops and gas stations.

Originally real estate agents also sold insurance and made loans, and sometimes served as agents for various steamship companies. Louis M. Mucha and Leo M. Kurcharski both owned businesses which performed all these functions. After the turn of the century Joe Werwinski ran a real estate office. Today there are still Polish real estate companies, including Minczewski Realty Co. Eugene Pajakowski is a real estate agent. For loans the west side still has Sobieski Federal Saving and Loan Association and the Western State Bank with John Wilfred Niemiec as president.

The Palace Theater was owned by Fred Bilinski and Harvey F. Rostiser. Children were allowed to to to the White Eagle Theatre on Sunday for a treat. There was a Polish photographer, Mr. Rogalinski who took all the wedding pictures. Mr. Kaniewski was the Polish mortician; today his business is known as Kaniewski and Sons Funeral Home.

Polonia's doctors included Dr. Nikodem O. Borisowicz, Dr. Abel, Dr. Bolka, Dr. Slominski and Dr. Pauszek. Local druggists were Mr. Papczynski, Mr. Niedbalski, Mr. Kolupa, Mr. Tomaszewski, Mr. Clem Micinski, Mr. Cieslewicz, Mr. Kitkowski, Mr. Zgodzinski, and Mr. Zell Chlebowski. Each of these men had his own drug store. Dr. Thaddeus Goraczewski

was elected coronor. Today Dr. Sobol is very active in Polish affairs. Dr. Ellis was an early optometrist. Later Dr. Max Palicki took over his practice. Early lawyers were John C. Gurda and John Buczkowski.

For about thirty years starting from the 1880's South Bend firms had labor problems. The city's worst strike occurred at the Oliver Plow Works in 1885-1886, when the owners arranged a lockout after their workers went out on strike. The Polish and Hungarian employees then organized an union, but it achieved nothing. The workers went back on the job, without having gained a thing.

Fear of violence and of bringing in outsiders hampered efforts to organize a permanent union. Generally only short-term unions appeared, usually shortly before or after a strike. Occasionally an organizer would come in from Chicago. Once a socialist tried to organize a local union, but he failed too, even though a few people in South Bend claimed to be socialists and preached socialism.

South Bend's other major employers, Studebaker and Singer, also had labor problems but not as severe or as persistent as those at Oliver. Unlike Oliver, Studebaker had no ethnic work crews. Its employees were integrated, and this minimized the possibility of ethnic unionizing or ethnic strikes. The Singer Sewing Machine Company invariably responded to strikes by threatening to move out of town if the workers stayed out too long.

Most of the people who emigrated from Poland had received only a minimal education. When they had settled in South Bend, parents sent their children to parochial schools. Most of them felt that a child should be educated through high school. Additional schooling was considered worthwhile if it would teach a person a trade. Often money was a problem for these families, and young people would leave high school to seek jobs. Those who were underage, simply lied to their prospective employers and were generally taken at their word. Adults who

wished to learn English could attend night schools, which also taught writing and held citizenship classes. Night classes were offered by several institutions--churches, the old Laurel School, and some fraternal organizations, including the Falcons.

The west side had no public high school until Washington High was built in the 1910's. This was after St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church had been organized. St. Mary's offered no classroom instruction, which meant that many parish children who had formerly attended parochial school would now have to attend public school. There was an additional reason for the construction of Washington High. Poles were now marrying persons of another national origin. In such families parents often preferred to send their children to public school rather than to an ethnically oriented parochial school.

At the turn of the century Polish parochial school classes were taught in Polish. And until World War II these schools taught Polish as a subject, even though classes were now conducted in English. After 1945 even the teaching of Polish ended. In Polonia's early years it was easy to live on the west side and never learn English. The residents' second language was likely to be Russian or German. Some who became citizens knew very little English. Parents spoke Polish to their children, who might then respond in English.

In church Mass was said in Latin and sermons were always preached in Polish. This was the case at St. Casimir's until 1970, when the English sermon was adopted in response to the growing number of non-Polish parishioners. St. Adalbert's still has one Polish Mass every Sunday. At St. Mary's of the Holy Rosary Mass is always said in Polish unless two Masses are offered on the same day, in which case the second may be said in English.

Today the use of Polish is dying out. Most young Polish-Americans do not speak it. They may have picked up some at home but they do not really know the language. The ones who speak Polish are

the very old, who know no English.

Several places in Polonia offered citizenship classes to help immigrants become American citizens. Stanislaus Kolkiewicz would urge people to take out their citizenship papers. But many of the very early immigrants did not become citizens although later ones did. Until World War II citizenship was rarely a job requirement.

Immigrants retained contacts with Poland through letters. Today many people in Polonia still correspond with relatives there. Whole families did not always immigrate. Perhaps only a son or daughter or a brother and sister came. They may have intended to make some money here and then return to Poland, but they wound up staying in the United States. Those who came sent money back to Poland to help their families or to bring relatives over. Some did return to Poland. Today there is a reverse immigration. Some Polish-American retirees are going back to Poland to live, because a Social Security check goes farther there. No one from South Bend has done this yet, however.

In 1896 George W. J. Kalczynski came to South Bend and organized the Goniec Polski (Polish Messenger) Publishing Company. The first issue of his paper, Goniec Polski, appeared on June 27, 1896. Publication continued until 1964.

In addition to this Polish newspaper Polonia had its church magazines. The one published at St. Stanislaus was called Poznanczyk and first appeared in 1922 with Francis K. Czyzewski as editor. Four years later he, along with Father Gruza and Father Sztuczko, organized St. Hedwig's magazine New Life. In 1928 Reverend Casimir J. Wintucki became New Life's editor. At St. Casimir's Dr. Stanislaus F. Lisewski began to publish Varsovienne in 1929.

There were once many Polish libraries in South Bend, but these eventually closed for lack of community interest. These libraries circulated classical, historical and popular Polish literature. Each parish started its own library. St. Hedwig's

was the largest. Most of its books were donated by the St. John Canty Literary Society. In 1930 the M. Romanowski Falcons began a library. The Polish National Alliance had a library; Mr. Witkowski and then Stanley Michalski were its librarians. When this library closed, its holdings were given to Notre Dame, which then sent the entire collection to Ohio State University.

Insofar as music is concerned, there have always been Polish church choirs, orchestras and bands in South Bend. Bert Nowakowski conducted his own orchestra. George Kurdys had a band, and his son Jerry continues the same tradition today. The Paul Futa Family Band has cut two records, "All in the Family" and "Busia's Cooking." George Zygmont Gaska conducts the Elkhart Symphony Orchestra. In 1974 he presented a program devoted to Polish composers.

When St. Hedwig's was built Thaddeus Zukotynski, a Chicago artist, was commissioned to do the altarpiece. South Bend also has its own Polish-American artists. Leon A. Makielski studied under L. Clarence Ball and later joined the art faculty of the University of Michigan. Zygmund S. Jankowski is another South Bend artist.

Theatre was a form of entertainment in the early years of Polonia. All the churches presented plays as did some of the fraternal organizations like the Polish Falcons and the Polish National Alliance. Most of these plays were presented in Polish.

Traditional Polish celebrations centered around the Church. A midnight Mass preceded by an hour or so of Polish carols ushered Christmas in. Later, on January 6 parish priests would celebrate the feast of the Three Kings by walking through the parish chalking "K+M+B+" (Kaspar, Melchior, Balthazar) above parishioners' doors. The Feast of Corpus Christi was also celebrated with a procession around the neighborhood. For this occasion all the houses would be painted and decorated. Some

would even have a decorated altar on the porch. There used to be a three day celebration on the feast of St. Joseph. At St. Stanislaus the Novena to St. Ann is still celebrated on July 26 in Polish.

On Holy Saturday in the ceremoney called Swieconka, the priest would bless Easter food brought to his church. On Easter a resurrection Mass was celebrated at dawn, after which the priest would lead his congregation in a procession three times around the church. Easter Monday, was called Dyngus Day, a time when boys would chase girls, trying to hit their legs with willow switches. It was also a time of visiting friends and exchanging colored eggs and food with them. Today in South Bend, Dyngus Day marks the start of the spring political campaign season. All local politicians gather to eat Polish sausage and drink beer.

Nineteen ten saw an international Polish celebration. It marked the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald, sometimes called Tannenberg, in which the Polish King Wladislav Jagiello defeated the Teutonic Knights. This was the biggest anniversary celebration ever, and all subsequent ones are evaluated by comparing them to events of 1910.

The year 1929 marked the 150th anniversary of the death of General Casimir Pulaski, the Polish General who fought in the American Revolutionary War. He died fighting the British in Savannah, Georgia. A South Bend resident, Ignatius K. Werwinski, became chairman of the United States Pulaski Sesquicentennial Commission. The Commission placed a statue of Pulaski in Washington, D. C. In Indiana Gary was chosen over South Bend as the site of the main state celebration. But South Bend arranged a special Mass and then a big parade in Pulaski's honour.

Werwinski received many honours for his efforts in behalf of Polish-American affairs. The Polish Falcons awarded him the Silver Cross of Merit. The Polish government presented him with the Polonia Restituta (Poland Reestablished), the highest

military award which may be given to a civilian. Werwinski received the decoration from Dr. Alexander Szczepanski, the Polish Consul General in Chicago.

South Bend's Polish residents used to celebrate May 3 as Constitution Day, to commemorate the Adoption of the Polish constitution of 1791. Sometimes the entire city celebrated this as Polish Day. Polish Day began with a parade and ended with a picnic in one of the local parks. During the 1930's this was an annual event, but in recent years Polish Day has been celebrated only when someone has put forth enough energy to organize one.

Each year on Memorial Day the west side holds its Memorial Day Parade with floats and bands. Afterwards there are services at the Polish cemetary.

Local Polish-Americans have one of two responses to questions about anti-Polish discrimination. Which is heard most frequently depends upon how far away from the Polish community one goes. There are those who reply that they have experienced no discrimination because they have always lived and been associated mostly with Poles. Those who have lived outside the community sometimes feel that Poles have been made fun of because their English was poor or because they spoke with a foreign accent. Indiana was not a state which welcomed immigrants. Robert LaFollette wrote that the state was fortunate to have missed out on most of the immigration era, unlike Illinois, where many immigrants did settle.

World War I was a turning point in the Polish community in America. When Germany declared war on Russia many immigrants saw this as a possible step toward the formation of an independent Poland. A Polish-American Army was recruited to go and fight under General Haller in Poland. Several men from South Bend joined this army and went to Canada to train: Ladislaus Wilczynski, Stanley Kaczynski, Felix Siarkowski, John Marzgajczyk, Walter Uniewski, Vincent Nowak, John Trczina,

Andrew Waislewski, Stephen Mrozinski, Joseph Myszke, Alexander Sekutowicz, Marion Dulcet, Peter Beczkiewicz and Anthony Czarnecki. After the United States entered the war ninety-six out of South Bend's first hundred recruits were Polish.

There were collections and fund drives for clothing and money to be sent to the people in Poland. Polish soldiers were forbidden to write to their families in Poland, so they wrote to the relatives here. Correspondence between America and Poland was permitted, so that people in Poland were able to keep track of their enlisted men in this roundabout fashion.

After the war, immigration from Poland stopped. The Immigration Acts had been passed and these limited the number of Poles eligible to enter the United States. But now fewer Poles wanted to emigrate. An independent Polish state had been recognized by the Peace Settlement. As a result many persons who would have immigrated under German, Russian or Austrian rule now preferred to stay in their country for reasons of national pride. A few people in South Bend even returned to Poland.

After World War II, however, about two hundred displaced persons came to South Bend with their families. These Poles were of a much higher social status than those who had immigrated thirty to fifty years before. They were highly educated professional people, and for the most part they had no problems finding jobs. Nevertheless in some respects these new immigrants were not entirely accepted by the Polish community. They spoke no English and were considered outsiders.

Also after 1945 Polish neighborhoods in many cities began to break up because of housing shortages and also because of intermarriage. South Bend has retained its Polish community well into the Sixties, however, although it too has now begun to disappear. People who make enough money to do so are moving out. The young are moving to the suburbs, leaving the old to live out their lives in Polonia. Much of Polonia's cultural her-

itage was lost when its residents began using English instead of Polish. Parents would abandon Polish customs in an effort to help their children become more American, more like the rest of the people in town. Other customs had to change because of America's different culture. Working in a factory meant working set hours for so many days every week. Special events such as marriages, holidays and feasts might have been week long celebrations in rural Poland. But in America they had to be fitted into the weekend, because people had to be at their jobs Monday morning.

Along with other ethnic groups Polish-Americans are becoming more aware of the value of their heritage. Perhaps as a result of this awareness some of the old customs and traditions will reappear. Meanwhile, there is still some immigration from Poland to South Bend, and every year a number of Poles become American citizens here.